

Grammar Notes

1. Parts of Speech

1.1 Nouns

Nouns are of three types: (1) simple, (2) derived, and (3) complex. (1) Simple nouns are affixed or affixable roots which are only inflected for diminutive aspect. e.g., *batu* "stone," *kura'* "horse," *bāy-bāy* "small house." (2) Derived nouns consist of a root and a derivative affix, e.g., *ka-dating* (nominalizer - to arrive) "arrival". (3) Complex nouns are nominalized transforms of verbs and as such have verbal inflection, e.g., *piyag-bunu'-an* "place where a battle was fought."

1.2 Relators

Relators signal the grammatical relationships between verbs and their associated nominal phrases, e.g., *sin* "non-topic actor," *in* "topic," *ha* "oblique."

<i>Bini</i>	(<i>sin</i>)	<i>tau</i>	(<i>in</i>)	<i>sapi'</i>	(<i>ha</i>)
buy	(non-topic act.)	man	(topic)	cow	(oblique)
<i>bagay</i>	<i>niya.</i>				
friend	his				

"The man bought the cow from his friend."

Relators also signal relationships such as possession, coordination and subordination.

possession: *sin*

<i>bāy</i>	(<i>sin</i>)	<i>tau</i>	<i>dayahan</i>
house	(poss.)	man	rich

"house of the rich man"

coordination: *iban*

<i>ista'</i>	(<i>iban</i>)	<i>sibuyas</i>
fish	(and)	onions

"fish and onions"

subordination: *bang*

(Bang) *dakula'* in *ista'*, *bihun* *ku*.
 (If) large topic fish, buy I

"If the fish are large, I'll buy them."

1.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are particles which are non-relational and are attributive to the construction in which they occur. They include such functions as:

time: *bakas* "previously," *kaina* "a while ago"
 quotation: *kuru'* "quote"
 uncertainty: *baha'* "pray tell;" *kahu-kahu* "perhaps"
 surprise: *tuwi'* "oops"
 negation: *di'* "not"
 interrogation: *ka* "question"
 limitation: *na* "completive;" *pa* "incompletive;" *da* "only"
 obligation: *subay* "should"

1.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are words which have components of person, number, and proximity and substitute for noun phrases. They are either personal or non-personal (demonstrative). They divide into four classes according to their function on the clause and sentence level. The following charts display their relationship to the phrase sets (see section 2, **Phrase Types** below, p. 21) of the language.

Phrase Membership		Phrase ₁	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₃	Phrase ₄
Pron. Class		<kaw>	<mu>	<kaymu>	<ikaw>
Speaker:	sg.	aku	ku/ta	kāku'	aku
	pl.	kami	namu'	kāmu'	kami
Hearer:	sg.	kaw	mu	kaymu	ikaw
	pl.	kamu	niyu	kaniyu	kamu
Other:	sg.	siya	niya	kaniya	siya
	pl.	sila	nila	kanila	sila
Speaker-hearer:	sg.	kita	ta	kātu'	kita
	pl.	kitaniyu	taniyu	kātu'niyu	kitaniyu

Chart 2a Personal Pronouns of Tausug

Phrase Membership	Phrase ₁	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₃	Phrase ₄
Pron. Class	<kaw>	<mu>	<kaymu>	<ikaw>
near or touching speaker: this	in ini	sin ini	ha ini	ini
near to hearer: this	in yan	sin yan	ha yan	yan
away from speaker and hearer, but within sight: that	in yaun	sin yaun	ha yaun	yaun
far away from both (remote) that	in yadtu	sin yadtu	ha yadtu	yadtu

Chart 2b Demonstrative Pronouns of Tausug

The <kaw> class of pronouns functions in the same way as Phrase₁. The <mu> set functions like Phrase₂, <kaymu> like Phrase₃, and <ikaw> like Phrase₄.

1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives, like nouns, are affixed or affixable roots which are inflected only for diminutive aspect. They contrast with nouns, however, in that they occur in attributive slots. Adjectives are of two types: simple and derived. Simple adjectives are unaffixed roots which are only inflected for diminutive aspect. Examples are *dakula* 'large,' *asibi* 'small,' *dakula*-*dakula* 'somewhat large,' *pula* 'red,' and *baliskat* 'inverted.'

Derived adjectives consist of the adjectival prefix *ma-* plus a root, e.g., *ma-dayaw* (phonetically *marayaw*) 'good,' *ma-taud* 'many,' *ma-bahu* 'odorous,' and *ma-bagunbun* 'dusty.'

1.6 Interjections

Interjections are exclamatory in nature. They consist of one or more words and usually occur at the first of the sentence periphery, e.g., *ā!* 'oh,' *andu' kailu!* 'sympathy,' *ay kaw naa!* 'hey,' and *abā!* 'wow.'

1.7 Verbs

1.7.1 Inflection

Verbs contrast with the other parts of speech in that they are obligatorily inflected for time-aspect, focus, and mode. Categories of time-aspect are: begun (b) or not begun (nb). Categories of focus are: originator (Of), object (Obf), accessory (Af), and referent (Rf) (see section 3, Focus, below, pp. 22-23). Categories of mode are: purposive, abilitative ('able to/happen to,')

and imperative. The following is a paradigm of these obligatory affixes with the verb *duhal* “to hand over,” and, for object focus, *kaun* “to eat,” since *duhal* does not occur with object focus.

		←-----	Mode	-----→
Focus		Purposive	Abilitative	Imperative
Of	Aspect nb	dumuhal/ magduhal	makaduhal	duhal kaw/kamu
	b	dimuhal/ nagduhal	nakaduhal	
Obf	nb	kaunun	makaun	kauna
	b	kiyaun	nakaun	
Af	nb	hiduhal	hikaduhal	duhalan
	b	diyuhal	kiyaruhal	
Rf	nb	duhalan	karuhalan	duhali
	b	diyuhalan	kiyaruhalan	

Chart 3 Obligatory Verbal Affixes of Tausug

Verbs are also optionally inflected for causative voice and for manner-aspect. The above chart with the causative affix added is as follows:

		←-----	Mode	-----→
Focus		Purposive	Abilitative	Imperative
Of	Aspect nb	magparuhal	makaparuhal	pagparuhal kaw/kamu
	b	nagparuhal	nakaparuhal	
Obf	nb	pakaunun	mapakaun	pakauna
	b	piyakaun	napakaun	
Af	nb	hiparuhal	hikaparuhal	paruhalan
	b	piyaruhal	kiyaparuhal	
Rf	nb	paruhalan	kaparuhalan	paruhali
	b	piyaruhalan	kiyaparuhalan	

Chart 4 Causative and Obligatory Verbal Affixes of Tausug

Categories of manner-aspect are:

Simple (*mag-/nag-*), used with Originator focus only.

Punctiliar (*-um/-im-*), with Originator focus only. Note in the chart of obligatory affixes above that either Simple or Punctiliar is obligatory in Originator focus, Purposive mode. Punctiliar manner-aspect does not co-occur with any other affixes except Progressive and Diminutive.

Progressive, normally used with begun aspect, not with not-begun aspect. Formed by reduplicating the initial consonant and vowel of the stem, e.g., *nagduruhali siya* "he/she is/was in the process of handing over" and *kiyakaun niya* "he/she is/was in the process of eating (it)."

Diminutive, formed by reduplicating the entire stem, e.g., *kimaun-kaun sila* "they snacked" and *langug-langugun ta* "let's tease (them) a little."

Reciprocal, formed by reduplicating the entire stem, prefixing the first stem with *mag-*, and both infixing and suffixing the second stem with *i*, e.g., *magduhal-diyuhali sila* "they will hand things to each other."

Habitutive (Frequentative). The following is a chart of the obligatory affixes with Habitutive added. Note that there is no habitutive form focusing the object in Abilitative Mode:

		← ----- Mode ----- →		
Focus		Purposive	Abilitative	Imperative
Of	Aspect nb	magduhal	makapagduhal	pagduhal kaw/kamu
	b	nagduhal	nakapagduhal	
Obf	nb	pagkaunun		pagkauna
	b	piyagkaun		
Af	nb	hipagduhal	hikapagduhal	pagduhalan
	b	piyagduhal	kiyapagduhal	
Rf	nb	pagduhalan	kapagduhalan	pagduhali
	b	piyagduhalan	kiyapagduhalan	

Chart 5 Habitutive and Obligatory Verbal Affixes of Tausug

3. Focus

3.1 The term focus in Tausug refers to the special relationship between the topic noun phrase (phrase₁) of a clause (marked by *in*, *hi*, or *hinda*) and the clause predicate whereby that particular noun phrase is highlighted or focused. This relationship is indicated by verbal inflection. It has relevance not only at the clause and sentence level but seems to function at the paragraph level as well and perhaps at the discourse level; e.g., in the sentence,

Kiyaun sin iru' in ista'.

"The fish was eaten by the dog.",

the relator *in* marks *ista'* "fish" as being in topic focus relationship to the predicate *kiyaun* "eaten." The non-topic agent relationship of phrase₂ *sin iru'* "by the dog" is marked by the relator *sin*.

3.2 Four focus constructions are differentiated: Originator (Of), Object (Obf), Referent (Rf) and Accessory (Af). The range of affixation in each instance is determined by the class membership of the verb stem with which the affix occurs.

3.2.1 Originator focus affixes (*mag-*, *-um-*, and others) indicate that the grammatical originator of the clause is the topic or item being focused in the clause. In the example

<i>Naglawag</i>	<i>siya</i>	<i>iban.</i>
Of=b=search	topic=orig=he	obj=companion

"He searched for a companion.",

the originator focus affix occurring with the verb "search" indicates that the originator *he* is the focused item or topic.

3.2.2 Object focus affixes (*-un* and others) indicate that the grammatical object of the clause is the item being focused.

<i>Lawagun</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>sundalu</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>iban</i>
Obf=nb=search	orig-mkr	orig=soldier	topic	obj=companion

niya.
poss=he

"The soldier will look for his companion."

The grammatical object "his companion" is the focused item or topic.

3.2.3 Referent affixes (*-an* and others) indicate that the grammatical referent of the clause is being focused.

Lawagan *ta* *kaw* *manuk.*
 Rf=nb=search orig=pron=I ref=you=sg obj=chicken

"I'll look for a chicken for you."

The grammatical referent "you" is the focused item or topic.

3.2.4 Similarly, **accessory focus affixes** (*hi-* and others) indicate that the grammatical accessory is the focused item or topic.

Hipanglawag *mu* *in* *palitaan.*
 Af=nb=search orig=you=sg topic acs=lamp

"Use the lamp for searching."

Here the grammatical accessory "lamp" is the focused item or topic.

For an explanation of the semantic relationships of focus affixes see Section 6, **Verb Stem Classes**, below, pp. 28-38.

3.3 The relationship of the four grammatical constructions to phrase sets 1, 2, and 3 that expound them is illustrated in the following chart involving a change of state verb. It is important to remember that the constructions permitted and the relationship of the phrase sets to those constructions depend on the stem class membership of the verb involved.

Predicate	Originator	Object	Accessory	Referent
mag-CH 1	Phrase ₁	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₃
CH 1-un	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₁	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₃
hi-CH 1	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₁	Phrase ₃
CH 1-an	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₂	Phrase ₁

Chart 7 Relationship of Tausug Focus Constructions to Phrase Sets

3.4 Phrase set 4 (ph_4) functions as an emphatic, filling the predicate slot of a non-verbal classificational clause:

Ikaw *in* *bagay* *ku.*
 predicate=you=(ph_4) topic friend=(ph_1) poss=my=(ph_2)

"You are my friend."

4. Clause Types

Below in chart form are presented the main types of Tausug clauses:

1. Non-Verbal			
1.1	Existential	+ Predicate <i>awn</i>	+ Complement phrase ₄
1.2	Descriptive	+ Predicate <i>maputi'</i>	+ Topic phrase ₁
1.3	Nominal		
1.3.1	Locative	+ Predicate phrase ₃	+ Topic phrase ₁
1.3.2	Classificational	+ Predicate phrase ₄	+ Topic phrase ₁
1.3.3	Interrogative	+ Predicate <i>mayta'</i>	+ Topic phrase ₁
2. Verbal			
2.1	Stative (Non-agentive)	+ Predicate <i>ma-</i> Verb stem	+ Topic phrase ₁
2.2	Active (Agentive)	+ Predicate Verb stem (focus inflected)	+ Topic phrase ₁

Chart 8 Tausug Clause Types

5. Morphophonemics

In word formation, when a final nasal consonant of an affix is followed by certain consonants, the phonetic form of the word changes.

5.1. The affixes *mang-*, *nang-*, and *pang-*

The rules for these affixes are as follows, with examples (parentheses signify an optional element, C means *m*, *n*, or *p*, and V vowel).

$$1. \text{Cang-} + \begin{Bmatrix} b \\ p \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{Cam-}$$

The final nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the following stop and the stop is deleted:

<i>mang-</i>	+ <i>buru'</i>	—————>	<i>mamunu'</i> "to fight, kill"
<i>nang-</i>	+ <i>patay</i>	—————>	<i>namatay</i> "killed"
<i>pang-</i>	+ <i>buwad</i>	—————>	<i>pamuwad</i> "clothes to be dried"

$$2. \text{Cang-} + \begin{Bmatrix} s \\ t \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{Can-}$$

The final nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant and that consonant is deleted:

<i>mang-</i>	+ <i>sanda'</i>	—————>	<i>mananda'</i> "to pawn"
<i>nang-</i>	+ <i>tahi'</i>	—————>	<i>nanahi'</i> "sewed"
<i>pang-</i>	+ <i>tangis</i>	—————>	<i>panangis</i> "always crying"

$$3. \text{Cang-} + k \longrightarrow \text{Cang-}$$

The *k*, the first phoneme of the stem, is deleted:

<i>mang-</i>	+ <i>kustaw</i>	—————>	<i>mangustaw</i> "to embezzle"
<i>nang-</i>	+ <i>kahuy</i>	—————>	<i>nangahuy</i> "gathered firewood"
<i>pang-</i>	+ <i>kugut</i>	—————>	<i>pangugut</i> "prone to extort"

We use the term CV reduplication (CV rdp.) to mean the reduplication of the first consonant and the first vowel of the stem. When CV rdp. occurs with *mang-* or *nang-* (it does not apply to *pang-*), the above rules apply first. After they have applied, there is a new stem (call it stem₂) that begins with a nasal consonant. CV rdp. applies to stem₂. The following is the rule:

$$4. \text{CV rdp.} + \begin{Bmatrix} ma \\ na \end{Bmatrix} + \text{stem}_2 \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} ma \\ na \end{Bmatrix} + \text{CV}_{\text{stem}_2} + \text{stem}_2$$

Examples are (new stem is boldfaced):

CV rdp. +	mamunu'	—————>	mamumunu' "murderer" (stem <i>buru'</i>)
CV rdp. +	manahi'	—————>	mananahi' "tailor, seamstress" (stem <i>tahi'</i>)
CV rdp. +	nangula	—————>	nangungula "is bleaching" (stem <i>kula</i>)
CV rdp. +	nanibit	—————>	naninibit "is clutching" (stem <i>sibit</i>)

5.2 The affix *-um-*

This affix is infixed after the first consonant of the stem. When the initial consonant is a bilabial stop, the first syllable of the infixed stem is deleted. The rule for *-um-* is as follows:

$$5. \quad -um- + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ p \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ p \end{array} \right\} um \longrightarrow m$$

Examples:

<i>-um-</i> + <i>panaw</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>pumanaw</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>manaw</i> "walk"
<i>-um-</i> + <i>buka'</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>bumuka'</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>muka'</i> "crack open"
<i>-um-</i> + <i>pikit</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>pumikit</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>pikit</i> "stick to"

CV reduplication does not co-occur with *-um-*.

5.3. The affix *-im-*

This affix is also infixed after the first consonant of the stem. When that consonant is a bilabial stop, the *-im-* metathesizes and then the bilabial stop is deleted. The rules for *-im-* are as follows (*V* is any vowel):

$$6a. \quad -im- + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ p \end{array} \right\} V \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ p \end{array} \right\} imV \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ p \end{array} \right\} miV \text{ (metathesis)}$$

$$6b. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ p \end{array} \right\} miV \longrightarrow miV \text{ (C}_1 \text{ deletion),}$$

Examples where *V* is a or u (In the orthography, a *y* is written next to the infix, but it is not written here nor in the examples under rule 7 below. See ORTHOGRAPHY above, section 6.3, p. 5):

<i>-im-</i> + <i>patay</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>pimatay</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>pmiatay</i> (rule 6a)
		<i>pmiatay</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>miatay</i> "died" (6b)
<i>-im-</i> + <i>buka'</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>bimuka'</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>bmiuka'</i> (6a)
		<i>bmiuka'</i>	\longrightarrow	<i>miuka'</i> "cracked open" (6b)

When *V* in rules 6a and 6b is *i*, the *i* of the infix and the *i* of the stem coalesce. The following is the additional rule:

$$6c. \quad mii \longrightarrow m\bar{i} \text{ (vowel coalescence)}$$

Examples where V is i:

-im- + pikit	—————→	<i>pimikit</i>	—————→	<i>pmiikit</i> (rule 6a)
		<i>pmiikit</i>	—————→	<i>miiikit</i> (6b)
		<i>miiikit</i>	—————→	<i>mikit</i> "stuck" (6c)
-im- + biluk	—————→	<i>bimihuk</i>	—————→	<i>bmiihuk</i> (6a)
		<i>bmiihuk</i>	—————→	<i>miihuk</i> (6b)
		<i>miihuk</i>	—————→	<i>miihuk</i> "turned" (6c)

When CV reduplication occurs with -im-, the above rules apply first. After they have applied there is a new stem that begins with *m* and a new infix, -i-, immediately after the *m*. CV rdp. then reduplicates the *m* and the first vowel of the original stem (V_1). The new infix shifts position to immediately after the reduplicated *m*, i.e., still following the first consonant of the word. The following is the rule (the reduplicated syllable is in boldface and parentheses enclose segments that are not present in every stem. The rule begins with the output of rule 6, p. 26):

7a. $miV_1C_2(C_3)(V_2)(C_4)$ —————→ $mV_1miV_1C_2(C_3)(V_2)(C_4)$ (CV rdp.)

7b. $mV_1miV_1C_2(C_3)(V_2)(C_4)$ —————→ $miV_1mV_1C_2(C_3)(V_2)(C_4)$
(shift of affix -i-)

Examples where V_1 is *a* or *u*:

(Stem <i>buntul</i>)	<i>miuntul</i>	—————→	<i>mumiuntul</i> (rule 7a)
	<i>mumiuntul</i>	—————→	<i>miumiuntul</i> "is becoming straight" (7b)
(Stem <i>bāk</i>)	<i>miāk</i>	—————→	<i>mamiāk</i> (7a)
	<i>mamiāk</i>	—————→	<i>miamāk</i> "is meeting" (7b)

The second example illustrates that when the first vowel of a stem is long, only the corresponding short vowel is reduplicated.

When V_1 in rules 7a and 7b is *i*, the *i* of the stem and the *i* of the infix coalesce. The following is the additional rule:

7c. $miimiC_2(C_3)(V_2)(C_4)$ —————→ $mimiC_2(C_3)(V_2)(C_4)$ (vowel coalescence)

Examples where V_1 is *i*:

(Stem <i>bingkuk</i>)	<i>müngkuk</i>	—————→	<i>mimiüngkuk</i> (rule 7a)
	<i>mimiüngkuk</i>	—————→	<i>miümgkuk</i> (7b)
	<i>miümgkuk</i>	—————→	<i>mümgkuk</i> "is becoming crooked" (7c)
(Stem <i>pikit</i>)	<i>mükit</i>	—————→	<i>mimiükit</i> (7a)
	<i>mimiükit</i>	—————→	<i>miümit</i> (7b)
	<i>miümit</i>	—————→	<i>mümit</i> "is sticking" (7c)

6. Verb Stem Classes

6.1 Introduction

When the choice of affixation occurring with various verbs seems to be purely arbitrary then learning will be slow. Conversely, if it is seen that certain classes of verbs occur regularly with certain affixes because of the case-like relationships or roles involved, then learning will be greatly speeded up. Accordingly, the stem class membership of many of the verbs in this dictionary is indicated for the learner who wishes to familiarize himself with Tausug verbal patterns.

For instance, the word *patay* "kill" is labeled as a verb belonging to a class of verbs called change of state verbs. In the sentence

Patayun sin tau in iru' kangug.
 "The man will kill the mad dog.",

the verb *patay* is affixed with *-un* not arbitrarily but because of the underlying change of state relationship in the clause. An agent, the man, acts upon a patient, the mad dog, to change its state or condition. With rare exception, wherever an agent acts upon a patient to drastically alter the condition of that patient, then the verb can be expected to use a specific set of affixes, one of which is *-un*, which focus or highlight the patient.

6.2 Case (situational role)

The description of verb stem classes used in this dictionary is based on the notion of CASE or situational role. The clause is viewed as a predicative unit called the verb to which are usually attached one or more nouns. The term case refers to the set of relationships which exists between a predicate and its related nominal phrases. The list of roles or cases with which a particular verb can occur is its role structure or case frame. Some verbs have multiple role structures, each of which corresponds to a separate area of meaning. We view the possible case relationships as the following (i.e., a noun phrase may be in any of these relationships to the verb):

Agent	the instigator of the action
Patient	what is affected or changed by the verb or in the state indicated by the verb
Experiencer	the animate participant who perceives or feels what is expressed by the verb
Goal	where an action is directed
Source	where an action comes from
Instrument	the inanimate implement used by the agent
Result	the result of the action
Range	the area or field of involvement of the verb
Non-instigative cause	the inanimate force causing the state or process-state indicated by the verb. It may be animate if viewed as being involuntary.

The criterion by which classes of verb stems are determined is that of role structure. Any two stems with identical role structures are considered to be members of the same stem class. The combinations of underlying semantic cases which comprise role structures and thereby define the stem classes will be represented using the following notations: (Case) present in deep structure and optional in surface structure. /Case/ optionally present in deep structure and if present in deep structure then obligatory in surface structure. (Case-Case) both cases are present in deep structure; they underlie the same surface structure element and are optional in surface structure. The listing of the semantic cases which comprise the role structure of a stem does not imply a fixed order of the noun phrases which manifest those cases in surface structure, since ordering is dependent on stylistic and grammatical requirements. It should be noted that the notation of the case frames is incomplete since the occurrence or non-occurrence of the corresponding surface construction has not been fully worked out.

6.3 Description of verb stem classes

The verb stem classes indicated in this dictionary are:

1. Standard Change of State (CH 1)
2. Result Change of State (CH 2)
3. Field of Action (AR)
4. Travel (TR)
5. Standard Conveyance (CV 1)
6. Carrying (CV 2)
7. Speech (CV 3)
8. Acquisition (AQ)
9. Reciprocal (RC)
10. Stative (ST)

Standard change of state (CH 1)

Standard change of state stems have the role structure, or case frame: (Agent), (Patient), (Instrument). They differ from result stems by the absence of Result in their case frame. As has been noted, in change of state stems, an agent acts upon a patient to drastically alter or change the condition of that patient. With this class of stems the semantic role Agent maps to grammatical originator, Patient to grammatical object, and Instrument to grammatical accessory.

<i>Kutkutun</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>tinapay</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>ipun</i>
Obf=nb=bite	orig=pron=I	topic	obj=bread	acs=mk	teeth

ku.
poss-pron=my

"I'll bite the bread with my teeth."

Some other verbs of this class are *kamas* "scratch," *kaubut* "pinch," *tanduk* "gore with horns," *ibu* "strike with back of hand," *timbang* "shoot," *paygu* "bathe," *lubu* "raze," and *utud* "cut."

Result change of state (CH 2)

Result, or factitive, stems have the case frame: (Agent), (Patient), (Instrument), (Result). They are like standard change of state stems, but differ by the presence of Result in their case frame. Agent maps to grammatical originator and Instrument to grammatical accessory. However, either Patient or Result can map to grammatical object when only one is present in the surface structure. Contrast

<i>Umanyam</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>bannang</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>hūk.</i>
Of=nb=weave	topic=pron=we	obj-mkr	obj=yarn	acs-mkr	acs=hook

"We'll crochet the yarn using a hook."

with

<i>Umanyam</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>kurtina</i>	<i>sin</i>
Of=nb=weave	topic=pron=we	obj-mkr	obj=curtain	acs-mkr

<i>hūk</i>	<i>ini.</i>
acs=hook	this

"We'll crochet the curtain using this hook."

Result maps differently, however, when Patient and Result are simultaneously manifested in a clause. In such cases Result maps to the unmarked noun phrase immediately following the grammatical object.

<i>Umanyam</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>pangdan</i>
Of=nb=weave	topic=pron=I	obj-mkr	obj=cactus-fiber

<i>bahy</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>hūk</i>	<i>ini.</i>
result=sleeping-mat	acs-mkr	acs=hook	this

"I'll weave this cactus into a sleeping mat using this hook."

The mapping relations described above hold true not only for clauses with originator focus, as illustrated above, but for clauses with object, accessory, and referent focuses as well. The following is an example with object focus:

<i>Habhunun</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pīs</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>hahabhun.</i>
loom=Obf=nb	I=orig=pron	topic	obj=scarf	acs-mkr	acs=loom

"I'll loom the man's scarf using a loom."

When Patient and Result are simultaneously manifested in a clause, the order of the surface structures which they underlie must be as illustrated above, namely, Patient Result. Were this not

true ambiguities might result, since the grammatical object manifesting Patient and the grammatical accessory manifesting Instrument (which follows Result) are introduced by relators identical in form. Other stems of this class include *tunaw* "melt, dissolve," *hansul* "melt," *bati* "mix ingredients," *tabid* "twist," *addun* "mix a batter," *adjal* "prepare foods and other things," *hinang* "make, build," and *sasal* "forge."

Field of action (AR)

Field of action verbs have an (Agent), (Range) case frame. They are action-process verbs and designate either the field where the action takes place,

<i>Languyan</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>bata'</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>lawm</i>
swim=Rf=nb	orig-mkr	orig=youth	topic	ref=interior
<i>sin</i>	<i>bungsud.</i>			
of	fish-corral			

"The youth will swim in the interior of the fish corral.",

or else designate the field from which the Patient is identified and acted upon,

<i>Dipan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>wanni.</i>
peel=Rf=nb	orig=pron=I	topic	ref=mango

"I'll slice some of the mangoes.",

in which case Range and Patient are identical. Many change of state verbs are also members of this field of action class of verbs which has a partitive meaning:

<i>Inuman</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>tubig</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>Malik.</i>
drink=Rf=nb	orig=pron=I	topic	ref=water	poss-mkr-pers	Malik

"I'll drink some of Malik's water."

Other stems with this same double-class membership are *bali'* "break," *kutkut* "bite," *sunug* "burn," *buru'* "fight," *sumbay'* "slaughter," *kali'* "dig," *pila'* "cut down," and *saggaw* "capture."

With some field of action stems the Patient which is identified by the field relates to the exterior surface of the field and the action performed by the Agent either removes something from or adds something to the field:

<i>Paisan</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>mangga.</i>
peel=Rf=nb	orig=pron=he	topic	ref=mango

"He'll peel the mango."

<i>Tupakan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pantalun</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>hik-hik.</i>
patch=Rf=nb	orig=pron=I	topic	ref=pants	acs-mkr	acs=snips-of-cloth

"I will patch the snips of cloth onto the pants."

In some instances the item added or removed from the field is the same item as the verb root:

<i>Tawmpaan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>siki</i>	<i>ku</i>
shoe=Rf=nb	orig=pron=I	topic	ref=foot	poss=pron=my

<i>sin</i>	<i>tawmpa'</i>	<i>itum.</i>
acs-mkr	acs=shoe	black

"I will wear the black shoes."

Some other stems which function in this manner are *tubig* "water," *bāy* "house," *samin* "plate glass," *badju'* "shirt," and *saub* "cover."

With field of action verbs Agent maps to grammatical originator and Range to grammatical referent.

Travel (TR)

Travel or intransitive motion verbs have an (Agent), (Goal) case frame in deep structure. Stems of this class are action stems indicating movement of the Agent to or toward the Goal:

<i>Manaw</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Tiyanggi.</i>
Of=nb=walk	topic-pron=we	direction-mkr	Jolo town

"Let's walk to Jolo town."

Agent maps to grammatical originator and Goal to grammatical referent. Travel stems occur with either originator focus inflection as illustrated above, or with object focus, in which case the focused item is the semantic Goal:

<i>Tukarun</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>mundu</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>gimba.</i>
go-up=Obf=nb	orig-mkr	orig=outlaw	topic	ref=interior

"The outlaw will go up into the interior."

Some other stems of this class are *balik* "return," *umpak* "jump," *hapi* "stop by," *datung* "arrive," *dagit* "swoop," *guwa'* "exit," *sakas* "mount onto or into," *tulak* "depart," *sūd* "enter," *dāgan* "run," *kadnu* "go," *kari* "come," and *lūd* "go down."

Each travel verb can occur not only with originator and object focus inflection but with accessory focus inflection as well. In such instances the accessory affix *hi-* functions as a transitivizer

introducing a Patient into the case frame. Therefore when inflected for accessory focus such a verb is analyzed as a conveyance verb rather than a travel verb, an instance of multiple role structure.

Standard conveyance (CV 1)

Conveyance or handling verb stems have the case frame (Agent-Source), (Patient), (Goal), and /Instrument/. They are action-process stems indicating action by the Agent upon the Patient resulting in the movement of the Patient away from the Agent toward the Goal. They are divided into three classes: Standard Conveyance, Speech stems, and Carrying stems. Movement of the Agent is relevant only in Carrying stems. With Carrying stems, the Agent moves with the Patient toward a Goal, whereas with Standard Conveyance and Speech stems, the motion or non-motion of the Agent is irrelevant. The following is an example of a Standard Conveyance stem:

<i>Biyugit</i> Af=b=throw-away	<i>hi</i> pers-orig-mkr	<i>Utu'</i> orig=Sonny	<i>in</i> topic
<i>kuting</i> acs=cat	<i>ha</i> ref-mkr	<i>gi'tung</i> ref=middle	<i>lawd.</i> ocean

"Sonny threw away the cat into the deep part of the ocean."

As illustrated in the example, verbs of this class focus the item being transferred by using accessory focus inflection on the verb. To focus the place toward which the item is moved referent focus inflection is used:

<i>Biyugitan</i> b=throw-away=Rf	<i>niya</i> orig=pron=he	<i>in</i> topic	<i>lungag</i> ref=hole	<i>sin</i> acs-mkr	<i>hummi'</i> acs=filth
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"He threw away the filth into the hole."

Stems of this class do not occur with object focus. To focus the instrument used in performing the action accessory focus is used:

<i>Hipamugit</i> Af=nb=throw-away	<i>ku</i> orig=pron=I	<i>sin</i> obj-mkr	<i>hummi'</i> obj=filth	<i>in</i> topic
<i>lima</i> acs=hand	<i>ku.</i> poss=pron=my			

"I'll use my hand to throw away the filth."

The roles Agent and Source map simultaneously to grammatical originator, hence they are shown as a compound in the role structure. The role Goal maps to grammatical referent whereas Patient maps to grammatical accessory except when that slot is filled by Instrument (see preceding example), in which instance Patient maps to grammatical object. Instrument maps to grammatical accessory. Some other stems of this subclass are *hantak* "throw," *pusaka'* "bequest," *butang* "put,"

laruk "throw," *duhal* "hand over," *dihil* "give," *anduk* "bow the head," *bīn* "leave," *sungit* "eat with fingers," *būs* "loan," *ungsud* "give dowry," *sangun* "install," and *ganti* "exchange."

Carrying conveyance (CV 2)

Although all carrying stems involve motion of both Agent and Patient toward a Goal, they are here divided into two classes, standard carrying stems and transitivized travel stems, on the basis of their different distributions in the four focus constructions. Standard carrying stems like *pipi* "carry on the hip," *pindit* "carry dangling," *tanggung* "carry by stick on the shoulder," *lutu* "carry on the head," *baba* "carry piggyback," *balung* "carry on the shoulder," and *dā* "carry" (generic) occur in all four focus constructions. With originator focus affix *-um-*, the originator manifesting semantic Agent is in focus:

<i>Dumā</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>bata'</i>
Of=nb=carry	topic=pron=I	obj-mkr	obj=child

"I'll carry the child."

With object focus affix *-un* the grammatical object manifesting Patient is in focus:

<i>Pipihun</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kaw.</i>
carry-on-hip=Obf=nb	orig=pron=I	you-sg=topic=pron

"I'll carry you on my hip."

With any of the accessory focus affixes *hi-*, *hipag-*, or *hipang-* the grammatical accessory manifesting the semantic role Instrument is in focus (no apparent difference in the use of the three affixes). Contrast between them seems to be neutralized when they occur with stems having an instrument inherent in the stem:

<i>Asal</i>	<i>hipagpipi</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>sin</i>
naturally	Af=nb=carry-on-the-hip	orig=pron=I	obj-mkr
<i>bata'</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>kīd</i>	<i>ku.</i>
obj=child	topic	acc=hip	poss=pron=my

"Naturally I will use my hip to hip-carry the child."

This focus construction seldom occurs, however, since one seldom needs to mention the Instrument, which in this case is a body part involved in the meaning of the stem itself.

With referent focus *-an*, the grammatical referent manifesting the semantic Goal is in focus:

<i>Bahungan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pangantin</i>
shoulder-carry=nb=Rf	orig=pron=I	topic	ref=bridegroom

pandala.
groom's-companion

"I'll shoulder-carry the best man to the bridegroom."

In contrast to standard carrying stems the transitivized travel stems occur only with accessory and referent focus constructions. In addition, mapping relations are different since stems like *pipi* "carry on the hip" focus the carried item with an object whereas with transitivized travel stems the Goal maps to grammatical referent. Similarly the accessory focus construction with either kind of stem can focus an Instrument: however, with transitivized travel stems like *dāgan* "run," only the affixes *hipag-* or *hipang-* are used since *hi-* with transitivized travel stems focuses the Patient carried:

<i>Hipagdāgan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kātas</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>upis</i>
Af=nb=run	orig=pron=I	paper	to=directional-mkr	ref=office
<i>in</i>	<i>siki</i>	<i>ku.</i>		
topic	acs=feet	poss=pron=my		

"I'll run the paper to the office with my feet."

In instances like this, semantic Patient maps to an unfocusable grammatical object slot rather than to the more usual grammatical accessory. Other transitivized travel stems are *dating* "arrive," *sakat* "mount," *balik* "return," *guwa* "exit," i.e., the entire list of travel stems. Basically the meaning "deliver" is added to the meaning of the travel stem so that *dāgan* as a travel stem means "to run" whereas as a transitivized travel stem it means "to deliver running."

Speech conveyance (CV 3)

Speech stems, although they have the same case frame as other conveyance stems, are put in a different class because often the speech material manifesting the Patient role is a sentence complement:

<i>Nagbayta'</i>	<i>sila</i>	<i>kāku'</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>di'</i>
Of=b=tell	they=topic=pron	ref=pron=me	obj-mkr	negative
<i>sila</i>	<i>magad.</i>			
they=topic=pron	Of=nb=accompany			

"They told me that they will not go along."

With stems like *bayta'* "tell," the mapping relations are the same as with the transitivized travel stems. Agent maps to grammatical originator, Patient (that which is spoken) maps to grammatical accessory and Goal (the person spoken to) maps to grammatical referent:

<i>Hisuysuy</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kanila</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pagkālū.</i>
Af=nb=tell	orig=pron=I	ref=pron=them	topic	acs=quarrel

"I'll tell them about the quarrel."

Some other stems of this class are *sambung* "answer," *sumbung* "report," *bichara* "talk," *bayta* "tell," *hindu* "teach," *salsila* "relate stories," *galit* "shout," *ulang* "yell," and *nasihat* "impart moral teaching." Certain stems of this class, such as *isun* "counsel," *asubu* "question," have multiple role structures. They can function either as conveyance stems or as acquisition stems.

Acquisition (AQ)

Acquisition stems have the semantic case frame (Agent-Goal) and (Patient). They are action-process stems indicating an action performed by the Agent upon the Patient resulting in the motion of the Patient toward the Agent:

<i>Kumawa'</i>	<i>kaw</i>	<i>tubig</i>	<i>kaniya.</i>
Of=nb=get	you-sg=topic=pron	obj=water	ref=pron=her

"You will get water from her."

The semantic roles Agent and Goal map simultaneously to grammatical originator and Patient to grammatical object. Some other stems of this class are *agaw* "illegally dispossess," *takaw* "steal," *lukat* "redeem," *būs* "borrow," *bī* "buy," *sambi* "exchange," *utung* "pull," *pūs* "pick up," *hilla* "pull upwards," and *dagtu* "jerk."

Some stems like *būs* have multiple role structures. With Accessory focus *būs* functions only as a conveyance stem:

<i>Hibūs</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kaymu</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>sīn.</i>
Af=nb=loan	orig=pron=I	you-sg=ref=pron	topic	acs=money

"I'll loan you the money."

With originator focus *būs* functions only as an acquisition stem:

<i>Mūs</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>sīn</i>	<i>kaniya.</i>
Of=nb=borrow	topic=pron=I	obj=money	ref=pron=him

"I'll borrow money from him."

Reciprocal (RC)

Reciprocal verb stems have the case frame (Agent-Patient). Both Agent and Patient are animate and act on each other reciprocally. They map simultaneously to one grammatical originator

in an originator focus clause; that originator is plural and there is no grammatical object in the clause:

Nagbunu' *silā.*
Of=b=fight topic=pron=they

"They are fighting each other.";

Nagkalu-kiyaluhi *in* *tau* *iban*
Of=b=alternate-reciprocal-quarrel topic orig=person and

pangtungud niya.
orig=cousin poss=pron=his

"The fellow and his cousin alternately and reciprocally quarreled."

Some other stems of this class are *lasa* "love," *suntut* "fist fight," *lingug* "quarrel," *sambi'* "exchange," *saliyu* "exchange places," *lugat* "discuss," and *isun* "counsel." When this type of stem occurs with other than originator focus it has a different underlying role structure. Some stems like *buru'* "fight" occur as change-of-state stems, and others like *isun* "counsel" occur as conveyance stems.

Stative (ST)

Stative verbs are subdivided into Patient-oriented stems and Experiencer-oriented stems. Patient-oriented stems are of two kinds, standard and non-standard. Both are process-state stems having the semantic roles (Patient) and (Non-instigative cause). With both subclasses Patient maps to grammatical object and Non-instigative cause to grammatical originator. Standard stems are process-state stems which occur with the affix *-um-*:

Tumugas *in* *sinintu* *sin* *suga.*
Obf=nb=hard topic obj=cement orig-mkr orig=sun

"The sun will harden the cement."

Some other verb stems of this subclass are: *puti'* "white," *pula* "red," *lunuk* "soft," *laggu'* "big," *haba'* "long," *lingkat* "beautiful," *baba'* "short," and *lakbang* "wide." Non-standard stems are those which express process-state by the use of the affixes *ma-* "not begun" and *na-* "begun":

Nagirit *in* *manta* *sin* *hangin.*
Obf=b=tear-apart topic obj=sheet orig-mkr orig=wind

"The sheet tore from the wind." or "The wind caused the sheet to tear."

Some other stems of this subclass are: *unud* "cut," *bagbag* "break," *kamas* "scratch," *hulug* "fall," *bali'* "break," and *sipak* "split."

Experiencer-oriented stems have the case frame (Experiencer) and (Non-instigative cause). Stems of this class indicate that which is felt, sensed, or perceived by an animate participant. With the affixes *-um-* (not begun) and *-im-* (begun) stems of this class indicate a process which the Experiencer has undergone or will undergo terminating in the state indicated by the stem. The process state is due to a Non-instigative cause. Experiencer maps to grammatical object and Non-instigative cause to grammatical originator:

<i>Limisu'</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>mastal</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>hinang</i>	<i>sin</i>
Obf=b=disgust	topic	obj=teacher	orig-mkr	orig=work	poss-mkr

bata'.
youth

"The teacher became disgusted because of what the youth did."

With involuntary mode affix *ka-* and referent focus affix *-an* Experiencer-oriented stems indicate that the Experiencer is strongly assailed by the sensation expressed in the stem or intensively made to sense the condition expressed in the stem. The strong impression is due to a Non-instigative cause:

<i>Kiyaashuman</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>kindi.</i>
involuntary-mode=sour=Rf	topic=pron=I	orig-mkr	orig=candy

"The sourness of the candy assailed me."

In this intensive construction, Experiencer maps to grammatical referent and Non-instigative cause to grammatical originator. In both constructions above Experiencer is focused or highlighted.

With the affixes *maka-* and *naka-* different mapping relations are involved as well as a different focus construction:

<i>Makasusa</i>	<i>kāku'</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>bichara</i>
Of=nb=involuntary=trouble	ref=pron=me	topic	orig=talk

<i>mu</i>	<i>yan.</i>
you=sg=poss-pron	that

"That talk of yours will trouble me."

With this construction Experiencer maps to grammatical referent and Non-instigative cause to grammatical originator as with the intensive construction. However, with *maka-* and *naka-* Non-instigative cause is highlighted, not Experiencer.

Some other stems of the Experiencer-oriented subclass are: *astul* "wrath," *laul* "tired," *luuy* "pity," *napsu* "envy," *amā* "anger," *dā'dā'* "pout," and *kayag* "happy." Some stems, such as *lingkat* "beauty," *buggat* "heavy," *dayaw* "good," and *ngi'* "bad," are limited to the intensive construction.

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First edition compiled and edited by

**Irene U. Hassan, Nurhadan Halud,
Seymour A. Ashley and Mary L. Ashley**

Second edition compiled and edited by

Irene U. Hassan, Seymour A. Ashley and Mary L. Ashley

Index of second edition compiled by

Malcolm S. Armour

*Notre Dame of Jolo College
Jolo, Sulu*

*Summer Institute of Linguistics
Manila, Philippines*

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